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MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

"THERE are (we scarce can think it, but are told,)
There are to whom our satire seems too bold,
Scarce to wise Peter complaisant enough,
And something said of Chartres much too rough;
The lines are weak, another's pleased to say,
A *2undnunc* spins a thousand such a day.
Shall we not strip the gilding off a knave,
Unplac'd, unpension'd, no man's heir or slave?
We will or perish in the gen'rous cause;
Hear this, and tremble, you who 'scape the laws,
Yes, while we live, no rich, or noble knave,
Shall walk the world in credit to his grave,
To virtue only, and her friends a friend,
The world beside may murmur, or commend."

THE principle in politics on which the Belfast Monthly Magazine set out, as described in the Prospectus, was neither to "inflame nor to lull into apathy," and such we trust is the course we have steadily pursued. We are not discouraged by the ill success which has attended the French Revolution, from wishing well to the cause of liberty, and rational reform, nor are we inclined to be led aside from our even steady course, by loading the present French Ruler with

abuse, which however merited, we do no not think it is our duty to bestow, after the fashion of a numerous herd of political writers of the present day, whose aim is to lead away from considerations of our domestic politics, and of the amelioration of which the constitution of these countries is so susceptible. We conceive that our constitution contains the principle of renovation, when it is animated by the vital energy of a people conscious of their rights, and as we consider that it has been gradually improving through preceding centuries, we cannot but cherish the hope that if the people are true to themselves, and are not duped by those, who are interested in the perpetuating of abuses, our political situation will be further amended.

The line we have hitherto adopted, we are determined to pursue, so long as we are supported by the public suffrage in our favour. We have manfully and honestly laid before the public our unbiassed sentiments on subjects connected with the general weal, and are determined to continue the same course, so long as we find that our opinions meet the concurrence of a respectable number of our readers. We shall then persevere in the arduous task of public duty, which we undertook on principle, undismayed, and supported by a conscious sense of the purity of our motives, and we never will submit to follow the impulse of misguided and interested zeal, blind to the public good, nor catch at popularity by sacrificing our principles. We can be silent: but we never will act or appear to act contrary to our convictions. We call on our readers to judge of our labours. It is their business to manifest by unequivocal proofs, how far we are entitled to their support. It is ours to perform our task, "nothing extenuating, or setting down aught in malice."

To those who fervently declaim, or fearfully whisper, or to those who are content to "ruminate unutterable things" against the politics of the Belfast Magazine, let us declare, that its crimes, its faults, or its follies rest not with *us*. Will it avert indignation or insinuation, when we acknowledge, honestly, and conscientiously, that these politics are not *ours*? They are all borrowed. True indeed it is, that use has been made of the authoritative personal pronoun "*we*," but let this be understood to imply that we merely adopt, and do not originate; that we speak not as having authority, but as following authority. Lay the blame where it ought to lye. Fall foul upon that John Locke who was himself expelled from the College of Oxford in the reign of James the 2d. and whose publications are in great danger of sharing the same fate at the present day. Abuse and vilify that Sir William Jones who was expatriated, or honourably banished to India on account of politics displayed in his dialogue between a gentleman and a farmer, illustrative of the rights of men and Britons. Let not that arch tory the Dean of St. Patrick's escape, who, for offences of the same nature, was transported to Ireland, and there confined, during his natural and political life. It is from these men we have learned, that, as the abuse of power is inseparable from its use, the ground, and basis of every just and free government is a general council of ablest men, chosen by the whole people, to consult of public affairs, from time to time, for the common good, *chosen fairly*, and *frequently renewed*. Even the toryism of Dr. Swift appears to lean more to liberty than the whiggism of the present day, when but 15 voted with Burdett for taking the state of the representation of the people into consideration on a future day: 15 members out of 600! "As to Parliaments, said that great man in Ireland, "I adored the wisdom of that gothic institution which made them annual, and I was confident our liberties could never be placed on a firm foundation until that antient law was restored to us. For *who sees not* that while such assemblies are permitted to have a long duration, there groweth up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts to the manifest danger of liberty, which traffic would neither answer the design, nor expense, if Parliament met once a year."

But really the effects of the French revolution on the public mind, have been similar to those experienced by

an individual, in consequence of a violent fever. The chain of memory is broken. The earliest, the strongest, the sweetest associations of our growing manhood are burst asunder. All pleasing recollections, all natural affinities with our once beloved principles of freedom are (we hope only for a time) obliterated. There is a sort of confused recollection of the year 1782, and we find it difficult to remember such a place as Dungannon. One spectre occupies the whole mind, and the visionary fear is so exalted by irritability, that it acts with the force of real sensation. Save us from the foul Fiend—save us from Bonaparte!

It is our sincere wish to do what we can, in our little sphere, to recall the public mind to itself, and free it from that panic perturbation, which at present, clouds its powers, suspends its nobler principles of action, and turns into malignant acrimony, and mean abuse, the generous hostility worthy of men. We feel ourselves drawn by the heart-strings to the genuine principles of civil and religious liberty, too young to forget to what glorious height the Irish people were exalted in the year 1782, and too old to pay homage to the arbitrary claims of either civil or ecclesiastical domination. "Libera veritas" we should wish to be made the motto of our publication, and the ruling maxim of our lives. We too are orange men, but not of the modern tribe who adopt that appellation, and who appear to be bred in the school of the furious and fanatical James, rather than of the mild and magnanimous William. We are such orangemen as good William must have approved, hearty enemies to arbitrary power in any person, any party, or any religious persuasion, and convinced that this country, in particular, will never attain to its proper level of industry, and its just rank in the empire, and estimation in the world, until our countrymen be raised to a perfect equality of political right and station; until toleration or the enjoyment of rights by *sufferance* and *at pleasure*, be expunged from the vocabulary of the constitution; and until fellow citizens will cease (in the spirit of the times, and of the men in such times, who raised the bodies of the hostile party, many years after their interment, on which they might wreak a vain vengeance) until, we say, fellow citizens will cease to flaunt, in the face of day, the colours of party discord, under the connivance of administration, and to hold up, in annual procession, the mangled memory of their unfortunate and unhappy countrymen. We wish to judge of men not by the colour, but the *core*—not by their creed but by their conduct.

"On the People, says Sir William Jones, depend the welfare, the security, and the permanency of every legal government, in the people must reside all substantial power, and to the people must all those in whose ability and knowledge we sometimes wisely, often imprudently confide, be always accountable for the due exercise of that power with which they are, for a time, entrusted." Now in this word, the *Constitution*, says the same learned judge, are included the original and fundamental law of the kingdom from whence all power is derived, and by which it is circumscribed, all legislative and executive authority, all those municipal provisions which are generally called law, and lastly, the *customs, manners, and habits of the people.*

The habit of the British character had been gradually created by those constitutional laws which illustrate the grand eras of British history; and in the spirit that flowed from such laws, it was once said from the bench, that Magna Charta was a sort of fellow that would not brook any sovereign power. "The *Constitution*," said Henry Flood, "is a system of civil and political government, the fundamental privileges of which are certain immemorial usages, whose antiquity, if other proofs were wanting, speaks their superior wisdom, and certain memorable precedents, which the just and virtuous struggles of our ancestors, recognized by successive generations, point out how they ought to act under similar circumstances."

But though it be true, that in an eminent degree, the constitution of a people is the parent of their opinions, and that the manners are founded on the model of the laws, still there is a mutual and reciprocal action; for it is

the *manners*, *customs* and *habits* of the people, which preserve the vitality of the constitution, and resist its decay and putrefaction. When these manners and habits change, where is constitution to be found, but in the page of history? Whatever may be the fashion of the day, the cloud that floats across the firmament of truth, we declare we can neither understand, nor feel a loyalty which is independent, or extrinsic to the constitution. We are loyal to our king *in* the constitution, and circumscribed by it, but the loyalty which appears the boast of the day, attaches itself rather to the personal than the official character of the sovereign. There is a description of men, who have pushed their fortunes, during the present reign, and arrived at the most eminent stations, by this sort of *personal* loyalty, and by a dexterous adaptation of all their powers and faculties, great and little, not to the customs, manners, and habits of the people, but to the favourite prejudices and pre-conceived impressions of an individual. In most periods of our history there have been such wise, or wily men, whose great study seems to have been the personal character of the sovereign, by which *only* they squared their professed opinions and principles of action. "The *personal* character of queen Anne," says Bolingbroke, "made her change the ministry, having quarrelled with the Duchess of Marlborough, who treated her ill, and this gave the cause to peace." "My principal dependence," says the same St. John, speaking of another monarch advanced in life," was on his *personal* character. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died, when he expired."

The unremitting activity and influence of men thus fortuitously lifted into station, assisted, as they have been by the peculiar circumstances of the times, have, we think, operated a very considerable change in the *customs*, *manners* and *habits* of the people. National character has gotten a new turn. Loyalty, which ought to embrace with equal warmth the *whole* constitution, is converged upon the monarch. There is something rather abstract and general in the notion of constitution, not perfectly calculated for general and popular impression, and more for the reflecting few, than the common mass; and this has assisted the aforesaid party, powerful in their influence, although precarious in their tenure, in raising the people, always alive to sensible impressions, into ebullitions of loyalty, rather tending to a desuetude and dislike of the old British ideas of government. Every thing has been done, not merely to reconcile the people, a common-sensical, commercial people, to war, but to persuade them that their existence, and that of their constitution depends absolutely, and irreversibly on the fortunate event of the present contest.

Quousque tandem? After so many years of hostility we did indulge a hope that the fuel for war must have been nearly expended; and that Europe, not so much from the will of man, as from the necessity of things, *must* at length experience the return of periodical peace. But war is not an extinct volcano. Even when its more violent eruptions cease, and a horrid stillness prevails in place of the tumultuous war of conflicting elements, even then, vindictive passions, like subterraneous fires, are collecting materials for a fresh explosion. What remains for the lovers of their country and their kind? Little else than to console themselves with the reflection, that in the evils of the moral as of the natural world, there are advantages derived, which, in a great degree, counterbalance their occasional devastations. Thus, in the region bordering on a volcano, on viewing the uncommon strength of vegetation, the unrivalled beauty of scenery, the elysian softness of the air, and genial climate, we are naturally led to contemplate the beneficial effects of fire, mitigated by time, and to bless that providence under whose influence the same element becomes productive of terror and delight.

In a prospective view of this sort, we should wish to consider war in its remote as well as in its immediate consequences, *beneficial* as well as injurious to the interests of mankind. We would not indeed go so far as the author of a placid and pious poem, named the *Sabbath*, who soon after set about, and advertised an epic poem on the *Siege of Copenhagen*, the most disgraceful occurrence that ever stained the moral history of Great Britain, and in its event,

the most prejudicial to its public character and relations, as an European power. We would not even assert, as some have confidently done, that a warlike life is the education fit for manhood. We would not mention that military discipline, which teaches habits of obedience and powerful subordination, along with the most generous competition, as a most sublime preceptor. We would not say that it moulds the manners of a multitude upon the model of one master mind, which guides and inspirits the whole mass, and as it were *Napoleonizes* a whole nation, that he becomes not merely the *vis motrix*, but the *vis formativa*, and delivering men from the anarchy and confusion of personal independence, regulates the mighty mass by the sublime principle of ORDER, and modifies its whole organization upon one heroic individual. Thus a single minute chrystal influences the form and whole congeries of the chrystalized mass however large it may be; and such, say the French writers, called *economists*, is the supreme advantage of an absolute monarch, and of an *unity* of legislation, that all principles of public economy, as well as all military operations, can, by such an individual, be best and most expeditiously carried into effect, unrestrained by the prejudices and local interests of popular assemblies. However prevalent such principles may be in France at this moment, where the civil constitution is wholly subordinate to the military, and every principle and person bend to the code of conscription, where every citizen is by necessity a soldier, and where the rule of Lycurgus is once more realized on a much more extensive scale, we trust that such doctrine will never long find footing in these kingdoms. We hate war because it is inconsistent with the civil rights of mankind, and must, by its nature, tend to DESPOTIC POWER.

In another point of view we might indeed say that war, not only occasions virtue, courage and perseverance, but it is, in its consequences, a powerful *reformer*, and of this war in particular, that the exigencies of the state will, ere long, work out the redemption of the Constitution. Not a war tax can be now imposed, but will eventually turn out the repeal of a grievance. Mr. Wardle only seconded an impulse previously communicated to the people, and the *indirect* effect of the war will be not merely to call forth the best resources of the people, but to accelerate the period of permanent and substantial reform. Every one must now be sensible that the time is critical; it must soon place the government of these countries, under the controul of Bonaparte, or of the people of Britain. The personal privations occasioned by the war will prove at length the public safety, and the pressure upon their purses will *squeeze* forth a public spirit from every rank and condition of the community. We shall be conducted to patriotism in the event by the mere instinct of self-preservation.

EUROPE.

The affairs of Europe have not undergone any considerable change during the present month; the two principal hostile powers having indulged a lengthened repose, probably suited to their circumstances, but certainly to the disappointment of the public expectation. During the period under review, the French have performed little in military enterprize, and the Austrians still less; for if we except the battle of Raab, in Hungary, gained by the former, and followed by the capture of the town of that name, the whole of this time seems to have been employed in preparing the means of future operations. What these may lead to, is still matter of conjecture; but with all the attention which we are able to bestow on the subject, we find no reason to alter our former opinion—that Austria must eventually be overpowered in the contest. This opinion is founded as well on the co-operation of Russia and the assistance which Alexander is hastening to Bonaparte, as on the power and military character of France, and the abilities of her Emperor; and unless the powerful expedition now sending from this country can be a counterpoise in the north of Germany to the Russian army already advanced near the theatre of war, the Arch-duke Charles will be in a more perilous situation than he has been since the commencement of hostilities. We fear, indeed, that this expedition will be too late to afford that relief to our ally which it might have done at an earlier

period; and nothing but a secret friendly understanding with the Emperor Alexander (Prussia is too much broken down to rely upon) would seem to justify the sending such a force at present to that part of the Continent Rumours of peace betwixt the Belligerents are again current; and whether they arise from the ardent desires of the people harassed and worn out with the miseries and desolations of war, or whether they may have a more real foundation, we think that in the present crisis after a battle so dreadful and of such doubtful issue, Austria, were she so inclined, might conclude a peace upon terms which she will in vain look for hereafter. The time of success, or at least the approach to it, is the most favourable for making terms; and were our own government anxious to stop the progress of a war which can never to us produce either indemnity or security, they might now wrest from the embarrassments of Bonaparte such a peace as would fully satisfy the country. However, when we consider that no pacific proposal has ever yet emanated from us, we despair of such a result now; and imagine that we must still continue to urge on the murderous system till circumstances change, and we are again left *singly* to sustain the weight of the conflict.

The Austrian official account of the battle of Aspern, on the 21st and 22d of May, has been published, with a brief notice of the early part of the campaign. It goes into the most minute detail, giving a particular account of the operations of each of the five columns which composed the Archduke's army; according to it, their number was 75,000 effective troops, and they were ultimately and almost uniformly victorious in every attack and encounter during the two successive days of fighting. Their loss is estimated at eighty-seven superior officers, and four thousand one hundred and ninety-nine subalterns, and privates killed; eleven generals, six hundred and sixty three other officers, and fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty-one subalterns and privates wounded; and field-martial lieutenant Weber, eight officers and eight hundred and twenty-nine men, taken prisoners. It is stated that of the French, seven thousand were buried on the field of battle; more than five thousand wounded lie in the Austrian hospitals, twenty-three hundred were taken prisoners, and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and seventy-three are in the hospitals of Vienna. Report makes the Archduke's army now 160,000 strong; and yet with this great force, he has remained six weeks on the banks of the Danube, nearly within sight of the bloody fields of Aspern and Esslingen, leaving the beaten and dispirited French in possession of the capital of Austria, to save which from Napoleon, at a previous period, had urged the Archduke to the greatest exertions, as he avows in the document before us: and not only do the French remain unmolested, but are pushing their conquests to the heart of Hungary, without any effectual resistance being opposed to them. We merely mention these things that our readers may not be too sanguine in their expectations, that Bonaparte will speedily be expelled from Germany: this may take place, but we fear that unless by negociation, it is not likely to happen. The 25th and 26th bulletins of the French army in Germany, are just received; they are dated Wolkersdorf in Moravia, the 8th and 9th of July. Nearly as we apprehended, they give an account of fresh disasters to Austria, and the renewed success of Bonaparte. The latter having completely eluded the vigilance of the Archduke, passed the Danube in the night of the 4th instant, almost two miles below Enzersdorf, which place sustained the left of the Austrian army, arranged his whole army in order of battle, at the extremity of their line, and by this manœuvre, in the language of the bulletins, "turned all the enemies' entrenched camps, rendering their works useless, and thus obliged the Austrians to abandon their positions, and come and offer him battle on the spot that was convenient to him." The result of these measures was the battle of Enzersdorf on the 5th, and that of Wagram on the 6th, in which the Austrians were driven from the field of battle with prodigious slaughter, and are now in full retreat towards Bohemia, cut off from their resources

in Hungary and Moravia, on which their chief, if not their only hopes were founded. The total loss on these two days is estimated at 60,000 men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.—The French compute their loss at 1500 killed and 3 or 4000 wounded. The Emperor Francis was a spectator of the engagement.

We do not at present presume to calculate the effects of this new calamity to the house of Austria, but we think if the expedition on the eve of sailing from our shores be destined to any place north of the Downs, it would be better *now* to disembark the troops without proceeding further.*

In Turkey, according to the information we possess, the Russians are completely successful. In Sweden they seem to have relaxed in their efforts; and as the Duke of Sudermania has been elected King, and accepted the office by the name of Charles XIII. and as the whole nation seem unanimous in their choice, and in their determination to defend themselves to the uttermost extremity, their Imperial neighbour will probably condescend to grant them terms which they may honourably accept.

Affairs in Spain are going rather adverse to the French interest; their troops are withdrawing from the western shores and concentrating near the capital. Sir Arthur Wellesley, after expelling the French from Portugal, is now with 30,000 British troops, said to be marching direct for Madrid, through the Spanish province of Estremadura, having formed a junction with the army under Cuesta, computed at 8000 cavalry, 24,000 infantry, and 10,000 pikemen, all well armed. This junction will constitute a formidable force; and were the 40,000 men now embarked for the grand expedition, to be landed at the foot of the Pyrennees and descend by the valley of the Ebro, they would be speedily in that part of Spain where the greatest exertions have hitherto been made, and where they would be most likely to meet with co-operation from the natives; and then our two armies in the peninsula amounting to 70,000 men, exclusive of the Spaniards, by vigorous and well concerted operations, might be fully sufficient to expel the French entirely from that country, and probably wipe off the disgrace of the unfortunate termination of Sir John Moore's campaign, by the capture of King Joseph and most of his military supporters.

AMERICA.

The Americans say little about the determination of the British cabinet to annul the agreement so happily as they thought, concluded with Mr. Erskine. Astonishment seems to keep them silent; and if wise and conciliatory measures are not now followed, a more general feeling may be excited in that country, favourable to France, and *proportionably* injurious to England, than has at any time taken place since the declaration of their independence.

We cannot help remarking in this place, that the din of arms, and even the actual invasion of a country by hostile armies, does not prevent our enemies from agitating and carrying into effect extensive plans of internal policy. These kings and governments, *as our enemies*, must think differently from us, and they therefore suppose that a time of war may be very proper for ameliorating the condition of their subjects, and correcting the errors of a less enlightened period. The Popish king of the Roman Catholic country of Bavaria, has just issued an edict guaranteeing to all his subjects the most absolute liberty of conscience, and granting them full power, on attaining the age of twenty years, to choose and exercise whatever religion they please, without prejudice to any of their civil rights. The only prohibitory regulation is against making converts or prose-

* Since writing the above we have seen the 27th and 28th bulletins, the former of which contains the terms of an armistice concluded on the 12th instant, between Bonaparte and the Archduke Charles, after some severe fighting, in which the latter suffered considerably during his retreat. There is to be an armistice for one month, and fifteen days' notice given before the re-commencement of hostilities. The line of demarcation concedes to the French, Austria; the south part of Moravia, including the fortress of Brunn, Presburgh, and all Hungary, to the north and east of the Raab, Stiria, with the strong fortress of Gratz, Carniola, Istria and Fiume. The Tyrol and Voralberg are to be evacuated, and the fort of Sachsenbourg to be given up to the French troops. In Poland the two armies are to maintain their present positions. Thus has the campaign concluded upon the Continent, by laying Austria once more at the feet of the conqueror; and the wisdom of their measures may now be appreciated with *certainty*, who excited that unhappy country to a contest which has brought her many degrees lower than she was left by the battle of Austerlitz.

lytes of any kind or to any religion, either by force or art. If in marriage contracts, where the parties are of different religions, it be settled in which the children are to be educated, those stipulations shall be exactly followed; but if there be no such agreement, in case of dispute, the male children shall be brought up in the religion of the father, and the female in that of the mother. Foundlings shall follow the religion of him or her who shall be charged with their education and support.

Had the Bavarians been disgusted with religious intolerance, and the Archduke Charles issued such a proclamation when he had lately the entire possession of that country, we should not have been surprised if many useful and determined partisans had flocked to his standard. But Bavaria has an enlightened prince, and though the measure we have just mentioned was not *law* before, yet he was always too wise not to avail himself even of *Protestant* talents, when conducive to the happiness and prosperity of his state and people.

ENGLAND.

Our labours in detailing our domestic situation will probably be considerably lessened during the interval of parliament not sitting. A parliamentary session brings together a conflict of the various parties, and gives opportunities for more fully discussing the state of public affairs. By such conflicts the people penetrate into some of the secrets both of administration and of opposition, and obtain a clearer view behind the curtain. We are, however, decidedly of opinion that the people must faithfully perform their parts, and that parliament will only be reformed, and an effectual stop put to the work of corruption, by popular opinion being so fully expressed, as to make an impression on the several branches of the legislature. If the people are supine, advantage will be taken of such a state of apathy, and the flame which has been fanned by some events in last session will die away, and leave only nearly extinguished embers to be revived again by some future spark.

If in the mean time, the people are aroused to speak their sentiments with decision and firmness, much good may be done, and a deep impression may be made on parliament, on its assembling, not by the violence of intemperate resolutions, but by the calm dignified expression of the public will. We shall therefore attend in an especial manner to the proceedings of meetings of counties and other public bodies.

According to the information in our last retrospect, a numerous meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Essex assembled at Chelmsford on the 1st inst. notwithstanding the refusal of the sheriff to call a meeting, and notwithstanding an active canvas, and much influence being exerted to prevent a full attendance. We give their resolutions at page 77, in which they assert their privileges by showing the evil consequences that would result from sheriffs exercising a power to determine before-hand, and without giving any opportunity to the county to assemble, to manifest on which side the majority really lay; they voted thanks to Colonel Wardle, and those who supported him in the house of commons, and concluded with a resolution in favour of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

It is curious to trace the effects of the attempts to stop the torrent of corruption. It has so long flowed in forbidden channels, that to restrain its influence appears like altering the entire course of the current. During the inquiry in the house of commons, it appeared that the selling of places was quite common in the management of the East India company's affairs. In consequence of further investigation, notwithstanding the resolutions of the court of directors against such practices, it was found that by evasions of one kind or another, an open traffic of places was publicly connived at. If directors did not actually receive money, they gave places to their relations, who sold them. In consequence of this detection, one of the former directors was not re-elected, and another voluntarily vacated his seat rather than undergo a scrutiny into his conduct, alleging his advanced age as a pretext for not encountering the fatigues of an inquiry. Several young men whose places had been purchased for them, have been recalled from India by the court of directors, whose zeal waxeth hot against inferior delinquents.—

The purchasers of places are severely punished, while the sellers remain in quiet possession of their gains. Some ineffectual measures were attempted by the proprietors of India stock, to mitigate this unequal punishment.

The public attention has been much aroused, and the enemies of reform have had a return of confidence from a verdict obtained against Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle esq. at the suit of an upholsterer for furnishing the house of Mrs. Clarke, and which verdict was obtained on the evidence of Mrs. Clarke and the brother of the plaintiff. We see no cause for triumph to this party. The validity of the charges against the Duke of York does not rest on the credibility of Mrs. Clarke, whose evidence in all its material parts was corroborated by the testimony of others, and by the no less authentic or unequivocal proofs incidentally produced by the blunders or concessions of his defenders. His case is not made better. It appears to us ungenerous to be too hasty in condemning the champion of the people, who is entitled to appear, until after clear proofs of the contrary, to stand in the perilous situation of having risked much of his character and fortune for the public good. He has declared the verdict has been obtained by perjury. It is right to suspend an unfavourable opinion, till he has an opportunity of legally clearing himself by proceedings for a new trial, which unpleasantly for him cannot be had until the commencement of the next term. We flatter ourselves that his honour will come forth from the rude manner of assaying it unblemished, and with fuller lustre. If we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, we are inclined to attribute his being drawn into the present disagreeable situation by his zeal for the public service; and that to prevent this slippery lady from being bought off, and to keep her in temper, he was induced to allow her to get the furniture, until she could pay for it out of the remuneration he might reasonably expect she would procure by her claims being brought before the public. She has received large sums for hush-money, and security for annuities to herself and her daughters not on the honour of a prince, but on the estate of a nobleman for the suppression of certain letters and documents; and yet she refuses to pay a just debt she has contracted. To the same motive of removing her out of the way of being bribed before giving evidence, we may without any unreasonable stretch of candour attribute his taking her to see the Martello towers on the coast of Essex, in such company, and with such precautions as were necessary to secure his honour from reproach. Let us not ungratefully rob him of his reward of merit, without fully hearing him, and giving an opportunity to produce his exculpation. If he fail, it is then surely time enough to pronounce on him the verdict of guilty. Justice with her even scales would pronounce the sentence hesitatingly and reluctantly after the good he has done by bringing to light such disgraceful scenes, which even if errors should be detected in some of those who stood prominent as instrumental in making the discovery, will descend to posterity as monuments of the flagitiousness of the present times. We can give up Mrs. Clarke without impeaching the credibility of the charges; as she only afforded the clue to discover the truth. We trust much good will result from the exposition, though we expect many attempts will be made to lessen the importance of the discoveries, and to bespatter with the foulest dirt, those who stake their characters in the virtuous cause.

We think that throughout the entire business, Mr. Wardle has been hardly treated. He was, at the first opening of the charges, opposed by the ministerialists, and shunned by the oppositionists. On Sir Francis Burdett being prevented by a fit of the gout from attending the house of commons, he was left to sit alone, until Lord Folkstone unsolicited, and without any previous concert, virtuously stepped forward to brave the popular odium, by taking his seat beside him. With the exception of Sir Samuel Romilly and one or two others, he had the entire phalanx of lawyers in the house against

him, to perplex with their legal subtleties. The gentlemen of the army were in like manner opposed to him—General Ferguson formed an honourable exception, and for this conduct he is now suffering in his professional line, by being left unemployed in the expedition just going out, notwithstanding the proffer of his services. Yet through all these obstacles truth prevailed, and forced unwilling conviction, both within and without the walls of the house of commons. We may recollect the short lived exultation on the second night of the examination, when, through a mistake of mentioning one brother instead of another in the case of the Malings, Mr. Wardle appeared to falter in his manner of proceeding. Now we see a burst of similar exultation, probably as short-lived, when, from the event of the late trial, another opportunity is given for misrepresenting motives. They who, in the present day, when virtue is unfashionable, and liable to be suspected, and with unblushing front despised, step forward to expose abuses, must not only arm themselves with courage to repel the open attacks of direct opponents, but with fortitude to bear the ungenerous returns of want of confidence in the people whose cause they are supporting. They must be content with the praise of the virtuous and discerning few, who look below the surface, with the justice which will be done to them by posterity enlightened, to appreciate their motives, and above all, with the approbation of their own minds, and a conscious sense of the sincerity and uprightness of their intentions. Thus supported they can brave the storm, and in the end will be able to triumph over the creatures of trick and existing circumstances, who know no other standard for acting, and indeed affect to despise any other than present apparent expediency, and sordid self-interest. We know it is unfashionable to speak of the Hampdens, the Russels, and the Sidneys of other days, yet these names with the patriots of the present, as well as preceding times, will descend, notwithstanding a temporary eclipse, as bright examples for the imitation of posterity.

" Fond impious man, think'st thou yon sanguine cloud,
Rais'd by thy breath, has quench'd the orb of day?
To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
And warms the nations with redoubled ray."

SCOTLAND.

Having in a former number of the political retrospect, noticed the struggle of the patriotic inhabitants of Glasgow, with the editors of the news papers of that city, and the intimation of an intention to set up another paper, on independent principles, we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of laying before our readers the following prospectus of the Glasgow Sentinel, and of expressing our cordial approbation of the principles avowed in it:

PROSPECTUS:

Considering that there are already five newspapers published in Glasgow, it is certainly due to the public, that good reasons should be assigned, for soliciting their attention and countenance to the introduction of a sixth.

Were the circulation of advertisements the chief business of a newspaper, those already published in Glasgow, are more than sufficient; but, if to give a full and impartial statement of foreign and domestic events, and to cherish in the minds of Britons, an ardent attachment to the principles of civil and religious freedom, is the paramount duty of a newspaper, it is presumed, that there is not only room for a publication of this kind, in the city of Glasgow, but that recent occurrences have shown the necessity of it.

The press is the great palladium and powerful safeguard of the rights of the people; because, by its silent and peaceful operations, it preserves alive in their minds, a just sense both of their duties and their privileges; while, at the same time, it controuls that lust of power, which is ever prone to extend its dangerous influence, first by undermining, and then by trampling down the fences and bulwarks of freedom. Great and systematic have been the attempts of the abettors of arbitrary power to silence this grand organ of public opinion. Force and influence have alternately been exerted, to render it subservient to the perversion of truth, by the deceptive arts of concealment and misrepresentation.

Hitherto these have failed of success, and for the good of mankind, it is to be hoped, that they never will succeed; for, were the liberty of the press extinguished, the civilized part of human society would soon revert to that torpid

and listless security, which, by debasing the tempers of men, sinks them insensibly into that state of degrading servitude, when it may be truly said, "that the mind of a people is slain."

To assert and maintain the freedom of the press in this populous city, and extensive district of country, is the principal object in view by the publication of the *Glasgow Sentinel.*

This it will attempt to accomplish, by a faithful and temperate account of the foreign and domestic events that are daily occuring in these eventful times, without arrogating to itself a right of dictating, and leading the public opinion; of assuming the unwarrantable presumption of saying, thus far shall the public know, and no farther; or, of misrepresenting even the little, which in those cases, is generally given.

Its columns will be accessible to every species of liberal and enlightened discussion; and although it is determined that it shall be open to all parties, but influenced by none, it will always be on its guard against every thing which may tend to licentiousness, or an abuse of the press.

To revive and invigorate in the minds of the present generation, that love of our country, which so eminently distinguished our forefathers, will always be a first consideration; and no opportunity or incident will be over-looked, which can afford the means or the prospect of promoting so important an effect.

At the present juncture, when it has been established by incontrovertible proof, that the vitals of the country are preyed upon by corruption and venality within, and when every day brings new threats of destruction and subjugation from without, there is an absolute necessity for awakening the people from their political stupor and lethargy, into that high-toned, but discriminating sentiment of patriotism, which enabled our ancestors to right our country's wrongs, and to repel her most inveterate foes.

As another means of promoting the best interests of the nation, the *Sentinel* will ever be ready to aid the cause of religion and virtue, in opposition to infidelity and vice.

The *Sentinel* will advance to its post divested of all hostility to those in power, and equally free of all partiality to those who are out of it; for it disclaims all connection with parties, or with party men. It will take its station under the standards of truth, justice, and British freedom, in opposition to corruption, venality, and political servitude.

In the discharge of its duty, it will study the utmost degree of candour, and, in awarding praise or censure, will be careful to observe the strictest impartiality. It will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in as far as it knows, without any other reward, or hope of reward, than that which an enlightened and independent British public may be pleased to grant, in return for the faithful discharge of its duty, and the necessary, but unavoidable charges, connected with the undertaking.

To parliamentary proceedings, and all those public political discussions which recent events have rendered so interesting, the attention of the *Sentinel* will be particularly directed. A faithful report of these proceedings and discussions will be given, and particular care will be taken to present a full and fair view, not of one side only, but of both sides of the question.

To the merchant, manufacturer, trader, and farmer, the earliest and most authentic information will be furnished of every article of intelligence relating to their respective avocations. All the usual lists will be given with accuracy, and every attention paid to render the *Sentinel* worthy of the patronage of the public.

This comprehends the outlines of the plan of the *Sentinel;* the political principles of which consist in a warm attachment to the *British constitution of government,* and a deep reverence for the principles recognized and established by our patriotic and enlightened ancestors, at the ever-memorable period of the revolution.

IRELAND.

With every disposition to pay the closest attention to the affairs of our native country, we find little to record during the present month. The Orange processions took place as usual in several places. At Bandon, on whose gates an inscription, dictated by the unhappy spirit of internal division which distracted this country, remained long as a memorandum of our civil wars, but which in a change of times and of circumstances should, with the spirit which dictated it, be consigned to merited reprobation, the bodies of yeomanry paraded on the 1st instant, dressed with the Orange insignia. The Earl of Bandon remonstrated with them, and as some of the public prints inform us, told them, what we are sorry to find has not been unequivocally demonstrated in other places, that go-

vernment was adverse to these processions. On a subsequent day, they again appeared on parade in similar array, and on further remonstrance from the Earl, report states that several corps of yeomanry amounting to about 575 out of 600 men, surrendered their arms &c. In our last number we pointed out the inconveniences of this system, as promoting disunion among neighbours, and weakening the strength of the empire. It appears objectionable in another point of view, such associations may injuriously controul the operations of government, when they dislike their proceedings. *Imperium in imperio*, or a body acting independently of government, has ever been considered an impropriety in politics. The late Earl of Clare, our well known chancellor, declared that all clubs as well those apparently in favour of government, as the ones directly hostile, were contrary to the principles of law. In a government, where the people are duly represented, and have their proper weight, in their own department, there is no need of Jacobin Clubs, United Societies, or Orange Associations. Give to the people their just share in the legislature, and nothing is to be feared from a muffled conspiracy, nor will there be occasion to look for support from associations of a part of the people containing in their formation the principles of division.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants, convened this day, at the Shire-Hall, at Chelmsford, by public advertisement:

Resolved unanimously, That the Right of the People to meet and discuss public measures, to consider the conduct of their representatives, and to prefer any address, petition, or remonstrance to the king, or either house of parliament, should be asserted and maintained by every friend to the liberties of England.

That the refusal of the sheriff to convene a Meeting of the County, in consequence of the interference of individuals, ought not to prevent the exercise of this right.

That the extraordinary application made to the sheriff, by persons who intruded on him their advice to withhold his assent to the requisition for assembling the county, is an unwarrantable attempt to prevent the people of Essex from expressing their opinion on subjects most important to their best interests.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle, esq. for his having instituted the late inquiry in the house of commons, relative to the conduct of the commander in chief, and for the firmness which he displayed in discharge of his duty, in defiance of the threats of the ministers, and artifices of the crown lawyers.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Francis Burdett, bart. who seconded Mr. Wardle's motion for the inquiry; and to lord viscount Folkstone, and Samuel Whitbread, esq. for the able and zealous assistance which they afforded him during the investigation.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the one hundred and twenty-five members who supported Mr. Wardle's motion for an address to his Majesty.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the minority of the house of commons, who voted against the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to negative the charges preferred against the Commander in-chief.

That this meeting has witnessed with the deepest regret, various decisions in the house of commons upon corrupt practises which have been exposed, or in proof of which evidence has been offered to be adduced at the bar, but refused to be heard; and do declare their decided conviction, if measnres are not adopted in the next session effectually to prevent their recurrence, the honour and character of Parliament will be extinct, and the safety of the country endangered.

That this meeting, whilst they are willing to make any sacrifice in defence of the safety and independence of the country, feel that it is highly necessary that a rigid system of economy should be established; and that the thanks of this meeting are due to those members of the house who have exerted themselves to obtain a retrenchment of the public expenditure, and such a diminution of the burthens of the people as are compatible with the means of national security.

That C. C. Western, esq. one of the members for the borough of Maldon (and the only member returned from the County of Essex who supported Colonel Wardle, or has declared in the house of commons his conviction of the necessity of a speedy and effectual Reform) by the uniform, upright, and independent conduct which